

150th BIRTH ANNIVERSARY OF FREDERICK ENGELS

Long Live His Great Historic Role For The Liberation Of The Exploited And Oppressed People

This year all over the world, the workers, the peasants and the other toiling masses are celebrating the 150th birth anniversary of Frederick Engels, the ardent fighter for socialism, the closest friend and comrade-in-arm of Karl Marx, the great leader and teacher of the working class and other exploited masses, the founder of the scientific world outlook of dialectical materialism, the first Communist International and the International Working Men's Association.

In celebrating along with the working people of all the countries the birth anniversary of Frederick Engels, one of the greatest leaders of proletarian internationalism, we take this opportunity to pledge before the people that we will remain faithful to the cause of communist internationalism, carry on uncompromising struggles against all revisionist and left-adventurist trends in the communist movement, continue to uphold the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism

and dedicate ourselves wholeheartedly to the task of liberating the mankind from the clutches of the world forces of imperialism and capitalism.

"Frederick Engels" to quote Lenin, "after his friend Karl Marx was the finest scholar and teacher of the modern proletariat in the whole civilised world. From the time the fate brought Karl Marx and Frederick Engels together, the two friends devoted their life's work to a common cause."

In Memory Of The Great Revolutionary Leader



F. Engels

Proletarian Era

ORGAN OF SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA
(Fortnightly)

Editor-in Chief—Shibdas Ghosh

VOL 4
No. 5

DECEMBER 7, 1970
MONDAY

PRICE 20 P.
Air Surcharge 4 P.

He was the closest associate of Karl Marx in all his activities and when Marx founded International Working Men's Association, he took an active part in it. Not only that, contact with Engels was undoubtedly a factor in Marx's decision to study political economy. The two friends exchanged views and collaborated jointly in working out the concept of Scientific Socialism and as an outcome of the joint effort of these two great thinkers of mankind, appeared some of the monumental works of classical literature on Scientific Socialism, like, the **Communist Manifesto**, **The Capital**, **The German Ideology** etc.

After the death of Karl Marx, it was Frederick Engels who took upon the leadership of the international communist movement and guided the socialists and communists throughout Europe.

His own independent contribution in the field of epistemology, political economy and social anthropology had played a vital and decisive role in developing and clarifying the concept of Marxism. In his book **Socialism: Utopian and Scientific**, he relentlessly, fought against the utopian concept of socialism, exposed its futility and unscientific character and firmly established the concept of scientific socialism formulated by Marx. In his other great works like **Ludwig Feuerbach and the end of Classical German Philosophy**, **Dialectics of Nature**, **Anti-**

Duhring, etc., he successfully ought out the idealist philosophies of the era, sharply criticised the metaphysical and idealist conceptions reflected in the various branches of Natural Science, elaborated a dialectical materialist generalisation of the principal achievements of the Natural Sciences of the then period and developed and further enriched the materialist dialectics.

On this auspicious occasion of 150th birth anniversary of Frederick Engels, one of the greatest fighters for the oppressed sections of mankind, humiliated and exploited by the world forces of reaction, it is only proper that communists all over the world should once again take this pledge that they would devote their utmost efforts to strengthen and extend the unity of the toilers of the whole world, inspire them in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and would give a final defeat to imperialism-capitalism and other forces of reaction throughout the globe.

Lastly we solemnly vow that we will expose the real colour of the various petty-bourgeois parties like CPI, CPI(M) and CPI(M-L) that are masquerading as Communist Parties in India, and develop the Socialist Unity Centre of India as the only real Communist Party in our soil which is capable of liberating the toiling people of our country from the yoke of the exploiting capitalist class rule.

RESIST POLICE ATROCITIES

Reports of police atrocities are pouring daily from the different parts of the state. Just after President's Rule in West Bengal, we apprehended that police oppression on the people of the state would be increased; but the present barbarous and criminal activities of the police have surpassed all records. True to its colonial heritage the police has taken law into its own hand and day in and day out innocent people are being shot indiscriminately by the trigger-happy police men. To cover up their misdeeds the police are framing up concocted stories of encounter with police.

But people by now are well aware that these are mostly nothing but blatant lies. It is true that several police men have been killed by some anti-social or misguided political workers. These individual terrorist acts are not at all supportable. We also want that the guilty should be traced out and punished according to the provisions of the existing law. This means that only the guilty person should be punished and not a single innocent man should be harassed. But what is happening is that hundreds of innocent persons are being killed by the police while the miscreants remain at the safe distance. The police, instead of taking recourse to the painstaking task of tracing out the guilty and prosecuting them according to the law of the land, is using these individual terrorist acts as smokescreen to wield wide power for carrying out their atrocities amounting to criminal acts. When the police who are supposed to be the protector of law and order, is trampling down all the laws of the land and perpetrating most inhuman atrocities on the citizens with impunity, all talks of democratic values have turned out to be a mockery.

Instances of police vandalism are numerous and so a few illustrative cases are cited to show how police in our country behaves. Recent orgies of police atrocities have put into the background all

other previous incidents such as at Krishnagore or at Bhabani Datta Lane. Murderous activities like the one at Shyampukur police lock up or at Bally police lock up have now become a daily affair. Every day a number of innocent young men are lost by police firing. The other day five youngmen were dragged from their residence at Beliaghata while they were sleeping and shot by the police on the road as reported by hundreds of eye witnesses. We also strongly suspect of police complicity in the gruesome murder of eleven young men whose bodies were recovered near Barasat.

R. K. B.

On 19th October last, the police men posted at the local police camp in Ghatiharania, Chuprijora Anchal, Kultali P.S. in district 24 Parganas headed by the S.I. Armed Force and accompanied by local Jotedars, their agents and anti-social elements, raided at night the house of Com. Probodh Purkait, a former SUC MLA, looted every thing which they could lay their hands on, severely assaulted the inmates of the house including the nearly 80 year old father of Com. Purkait and dragged them mercilessly to the camp which was located in the house of a notorious Jotedar of the locality. Here again, the police to cover up their misdeeds manufactured baseless stories and started a false

(Continued to page 7)

By The Way

The CPI(M) "has not yet given up hopes of being restored to the Prime Minister's favour; perhaps the "Indicate" will redeem itself in the eyes of the CPM if the daily toll of lives the Police are taking in the State is stepped up"—comments the *Frontier* in its issue dated 21st November last. The comment is indeed justified but thou too Brutus!

"Jyoti Basu holds brief for Dhavan"—Caption of a news item in the *Statesman* dated 12th November last. One should not blame the CPI(M) leader for holding brief for the West Bengal Governor under whose 'able' administration the people of the state are having the bitterest experience of worst naked Policeraaj. For, after all, one should not be ungrateful. The Marxist Communist leader in any case cannot help reciprocating Dhavan's appreciation of Shri Basu as one of the "ablest administrators any country can be proud of." Just an instance of mutual back-scratching!

Sheikh Abeid Karume, First Vice-President of Tanzania, was quoted as saying that the Government could not tolerate seeing Indians controlling the economy of his country and, as such, had decided to refuse to issue henceforth trading licences to Indians. What do the Naxalites say about it? Is it a sign of comprador character of the Indian big bourgeoisie, as they preach, or, does it establish the fact that the Tatas, Birlas and such other Indian big capitalists are monopolists who cannot be comprador in character? Is it not a sign of imperialist tendency?

During the period of nine months from January to September this year, according to a review by the Union Home Ministry, there had been 413 cases of communal riots in different parts of the country accounting for 274 killed and 1475 injured, majority of whom belong to the minority community. It had also come to light that in many a case the administration and the Police openly sided with the Hindu communal riot-makers like the RSS, Shiv Sena, etc., with both the wings of the Congress and the Governments run by them helping the rioters with omissions and commissions. Nevertheless, the Central Committee of the CPI(M) thinks that "the political line" of the Congress (R) "is such that the biggest danger threatening the democratic movement of the country—the danger of Hindu communal reaction—is sought to be opposed." (Vide *People's Democracy* dated 15.2.70) Wonderful fidelity to truth and reality!

Last year 5 million crimes were committed in the USA, including 33,604 assaults on policemen, 73 of them fatal. We all know that today the USA is actually ruled by the industrial-military complex notorious for its hostility to peace, democracy and freedom. But in spite of it the Police there has not been given the unbridled power to shoot people at sight and kill, a power recently given to the Police in West Bengal under the President's Rule of the Indira Congress. One must thank the CPI and CPI(M) leadership for finding "progressiveness" and "healthy trend" reflecting "anti-monopolist democratic aspirations of the people" in the "Indira wing of the Congress".

WEST BENGAL STATE COMMITTEE OF SUCI ON EPC

The West Bengal State Committee of the SUCI met on the 3rd and 4th November last and adopted the following resolution on the present situation in the state :—

“The West Bengal State Committee of the SUCI notes with grave concern that under President's Rule in the state the Police, as the custodian of law and order, itself is, under various pretexts, violating the law and perpetrating criminal acts, like arresting innocent persons, severely assaulting them when under Police custody, committing cold-blooded murder, etc., with impunity. These criminal activities on the part of the Police have reached an all-time record in the history of Police administration in the country, surpassing in brutality even the Police violence in the days of British rule over India.

“The State Committee further notes that the Central Government and the Congress (R) running this Government are fully responsible for these atrocities and criminal acts by the state Police and the CRP. The State Committee also notes that, even in the face of it, both the CPI(M) and the CPI are painting the Indira Congress as progressive compared to the Syndicate Congress and sometimes supporting and sometimes opposing the Congress to suit their own respective purposes. This opportunist policy of each of these two parties is causing great dis-service and harm to the people and legitimate democratic mass movements.

“In the considered opinion of the State Committee, the left-opportunist and disruptive policy of the CPI(M) inimical to the unity of the democratic front mainly contributed to the break-down of the UF and consequent imposition of the President's Rule in West Bengal and the way the Home (Police) Department was

handled by the CPI(M) during the last UF regime is, to a very large extent, responsible for the present position of the Police under the President's Rule emboldening it to carry on criminal acts, as mentioned above.

“It is high time that all genuine left and democratic forces and progressive individuals should raise their voice of protest against such Police atrocities and political murders and come forward to forge a unity of left and democratic forces (1) to put an end to such criminal acts of the Police, (2) to preserve the gains earned by the people during the UF regime, (3) to advance the legitimate democratic mass movements step by step and (4) to force the Central Government to concede to the demand of an early mid-term election in the state and give defeat to both wings of the Congress and the left-opportunist and disruptive policy of the CPI(M).

“In the present condition, the EPC is the only instrument which can fulfil the desired objective of the people, develop and advance the legitimate democratic mass movements and give defeat to both wings of the Congress and the left-opportunist and disruptive policy of the CPI(M) in the coming mid-term election. It is high time, therefore, that the EPC should be transformed without delay into a Front on the basis of clear-cut policy, programme, code of conduct for its constituent parties, etc. The State Committee will submit in writing a draft containing them in the next meeting of the EPC for consideration of other parties. The State Committee suggests that

(Continued to page 7)

TRUTH ABOUT REQUEST TO REVIVE THE P.D. ACT.

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in the opening leader entitled “Totally Negative” its issue dated 7th November last had criticised some leading representatives of the EPC, who met the Governor of West Bengal in connection with recent orgy of Police violence on innocent persons in the state, for disclaiming the responsibility of the request made by Shri Jyoti Basu, CPI(M) leader and erstwhile Home Minister of the second UF Government, to the Union Home Ministry for the revival of the P. D. Act. The editorial further commented that the constituents of the EPC “observed complete silence at that time and now, after their breach with the CPI(M), they are trying to make it responsible for everything, which they now consider to be discreditable.”

We, of course, enjoy this attempt by the *Patrika*—a daily owned by a big gun of the state Congress (R)—to defend the CPI(M). Shri Ghosh, editor of the newspaper, has certainly the right to hold brief for Shri Basu, CPI(M) leader. But journalistic ethics demands that before coming out in the open to defend the CPI(M) leader Shri Ghosh should have taken at least some pains to find out the truth. The editorial in question is based on misinformation, ignorance and untruth.

For the information of the editor of the *Patrika* we like to state some facts. The UF and the UF Government were pledge-bound to the people of West Bengal to fight for the revocation of all black laws. It was unambiguously made clear in item No. 29 of the 32 point programme of the UF. Besides, neither the UF nor the UF Ministry ever decided to request the Central Government to revive the P. D. Act. In fact, they were deadily opposed to its revival. But Shri Jyoti Basu was reported in the local dailies dated 25th November, 1969 to have requested the Union Home Minister for the revival of the P. D. Act in utter violation of the pledge given to the people by the UF and its declared policy as contained

in its 32-point programme and behind the back of the UF Cabinet. It was ominous that at that time leading articles were published in the *Ganasakti*, organ of the CPI(M), upholding the necessity of bringing in some sort of state law for preventive detention on the plea of firmly dealing with anti-social and communal elements.

No sooner had all these newspaper-reports come to the notice of our Party than on the same day, i.e., on the 25th November, 1969 Com. Nihar Mukherjee, on behalf of the West Bengal State Committee of the SUCI, by a letter drew the attention of Shri Jyoti Basu to the newspaper-reports and demanded of him an explanation of his request to Union Home Minister for the revival of the P. D. Act in violation of the UF policy and behind the back of the UF Cabinet, as reported in newspapers. Copies of this letter by Com. Mukherjee were circulated to the Press for publication and to different constituent parties of the UF for necessary action. In the face of this stiff resistance by the SUC against any move to revive the P. D. Act Shri Basu had no other alternative than to retract his earlier move, however much his Party

(Continued to page 6)

Some Valuable Teachings of

STATE OWNERSHIP IS NOT SOCIALISM

"If the crises revealed the incapacity of the bourgeoisie any longer to control the modern productive forces, the conversion of the great organisations for production and communication into joint-stock companies, trusts and state property shows that for this purpose the bourgeoisie can be dispensed with. All the social functions of the capitalist are now carried out by salaried employees. The capital has no longer any social activity save the pocketing of revenues, the clipping of coupons, and gambling on the Stock Exchange, where the different capitalists fleece each other of their capital. Just as at first the mode of production displaced the workers, so now it displaces the capitalists relegating them just as it did the workers to the superfluous population even if in the first instance not to the industrial reserve army.

"But neither conversion into joint-stock companies and trusts nor conversion into state property deprives the productive forces of their character as capital. In the case of joint-stock companies and trusts this is obvious. And the modern state, too, is only the organisation with which bourgeois society provides itself in order to maintain the general external conditions of the capitalist mode of production against encroachments either by the workers or by individual capitalists. The modern state, whatever its form, is an essentially capitalist machine; it is the state of the capitalists, the ideal aggregate capitalist. The more productive forces it takes over, the more does it exploit. The workers remain wage earners, proletarians. The capitalist relationship is not abolished, it is rather pushed to the extreme. But at this

extreme it changes radically. State ownership of the productive forces is not the solution of the conflict, but it contains within itself the formal means, the key to the solution.

"This solution can only consist in the recognition in practice of the social nature of the modern productive forces, in bringing, therefore, the mode of production, appropriation and exchange into accord with the social character of the means of production. And this can only be brought about by society, openly and without circuitry, taking possession of the productive forces, which have outgrown all control other than that of society itself. Thereby the social character of the means of production and of the products—which today operates against the producers themselves, periodically breaking through the mode of production and exchange and enforcing itself only as a blindly operating law of nature, violently and destructively—is quite consciously asserted by the producers, and is transformed from a cause of disorder and periodic collapse into the most powerful lever of production itself.

"The forces operating in society work exactly like the forces operating in nature, blindly, violently, destructively, so long as we do not understand them and fail to take them into account. But when, once we have come to know them and understood how they work, their direction and their effects, the gradual subjection of them to our will and the use of them for the attainment of our aims depend entirely upon ourselves. And this is specially true of the mighty productive forces of the present day. So long as we obstinately refuse to understand their nature and their

character and the capitalist mode of production and its defenders set themselves against any such attempt—these forces operate in spite of us, against us, dominate us, as we have shown in detail. But once their nature is grasped, in the hands of the producers working in association they can be transformed from demoniacal masters into willing servants. This is the difference between the destructive force of electricity in the lightning of a thunderstorm and the tamed electricity of the telegraph and the arc-light, the difference between a conflagration and fire in the service of man. Such treatment of to-day's productive forces in accordance with their nature, now become known at last, opens the way to the replacement of the anarchy of social production by a socially planned regulation of production in accordance with the needs both of society as a whole and of each individual. The capitalist mode of appropriation in which the product enslaves first the producer, and then

also the appropriator, will thereby be replaced by the mode of appropriation of the product based on the nature of the modern means of production themselves: on the one hand direct social appropriation as a means to the maintenance and extension of production and on the other hand direct individual appropriation as a means to life and pleasure.

"By transforming the great majority of the population more and more into proletarians, the capitalist mode of production brings into being the force which under penalty of its own destruction, is compelled to carry out this revolution. By driving more and more towards the conversion of the vast socialized means of production into state property, it itself points the way for the carrying through of this revolution. *The proletariat seizes the state power and transforms the means of production in the first instance into state property.*"

(Socialism: Utopian and Scientific—Frederick Engels.)

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

"The new facts made imperative a new examination of all past history, and then it was seen that *all* past history, with the exception of primitive conditions, was the history of class struggles, that these classes of society warring upon each other are always products of the relations of production and exchange, in a word, of the *economic* relations of their time; that therefore the economic structure of society always forms the real basis from which, in the last analysis is to be explained the whole superstructure of legal and political institutions, as well as of the religious, philosophical and other conceptions of each historical period. Hegel had freed the conception of history from metaphysics; he had

made it dialectical—but this conception of history was essentially idealistic. Now idealism was driven from its last refuge, the conception of history; now a materialist conception of history was propounded, and the way found to explain man's consciousness by his being, instead of, as heretofore, his being by his consciousness.

"Henceforward socialism no longer appeared as the accidental discovery of this or that brilliant mind, but as the necessary outcome of the struggle between two historically developed classes—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Its task was no longer to manufacture a system of society as perfect as possible, but to investigate the historical

Frederick Engels

economic process from which these classes and their antagonism had of necessity sprung and to discover in the economic position thus created the means for solving the conflict. But the socialism of earlier days was just as incompatible with this materialist conception of history as French materialism's conception of nature was with dialectics and modern natural science. It is true that the earlier socialism criticized the existing capitalist mode of production and its consequences but it could not explain them and so also could not get the mastery over them; it could only simply reject them as evil. The more violently it denounced the exploitation of the working class, which was inseparable from it the less was it in a position to state clearly wherein this exploitation consists and how it arises. But what had to be done was to show the capitalist mode of production on the one hand in its historical interconnection and as a necessity for a definite historical period, and therefore also the necessity of its doom; and on the other hand also to lay bare its essential character,

which was still hidden. This was done by the revelation of *surplus value*. It was shown that the appropriation of unpaid labour is the basic form of the capitalist mode of production and of the exploitation of the worker effected through it; that even if the capitalist buys the labour power of his labourer at its full value as a commodity on the market, he yet extracts more value from it than he paid for; and that in the ultimate analysis this surplus value forms that sum of value from which is heaped up the constantly increasing mass of capital in the hands of the possessing classes. The process both of capitalist production and of the production of capital was explained.

"These two great discoveries, the materialist conception of history and the revelation of the secret of capitalist production by means of surplus value, we owe to Marx. With these discoveries socialism became a science, which had in the first place to be developed in all its details and interconnections."

(Socialism: Utopian and Scientific—Frederick Engels)

Marxism is not economic determinism

"According to the materialist conception of history the determining element in history is *ultimately* the production and reproduction of real life. More than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. If therefore somebody twists this into the statement that the economic element is the *only* determining one, he transforms it into a meaningless abstract and absurd phrase. The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure—political forms of the class struggle and its consequences, to wit, constitutions established by the victorious class after a successful battle, etc., juridical forms and then even the reflexes of all these actual struggles in the brains of the participants: political, juristic, philosophi-

cal theories, religious views and their further development into systems of dogmas, also exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their *form*. There is an interaction of all these elements in which, amid all the endless host of accidents (i.e., of things and events, inner-connection is so remote or so impossible to prove that we regard it as absent and can neglect it) the economic movement finally asserts itself as necessary. Otherwise the application of the theory to any period of history one chose would be easier than the solution of a simple equation of the first degree."

(Engels To Joseph Bloch
London, September 21, 1890
—From Letters on Historical Materialism)

Orissa Committee of SUCI Observed 53rd Anniversary of November Revolution

(By a Staff Reporter)

On the 15th of November last, under the auspices of Orissa State Committee of the SUCI, the 53rd Anniversary of the Great November Revolution was observed at Rourkella. Hundreds of workers in procession with red flags in their hands and carrying posters, converged on Ambagan, where a well attended public meeting was held in this connection. The meeting was presided over by Com. B. Jena, the local SUC leader.

Com. Tapas Dutta, who was the main speaker, elaborately dealt with international significance of the Great November Revolution and its teachings. He gave a vivid exposure of the wrong political lines, particularly on the question of stage of revolution in our country of the parties that move with the name 'Communist' here. He explained in a lucid manner as to why our revolution would be anti-capitalist, socialist revolution. He urged upon the workers to conduct day-to-day movements in such a way as to accelerate the course of revolutionary preparation in our country.

Com. Sk. Kasim and Com. Bishnupada Das also addressed the meeting.

the re-establishment of such a relation. But the Birlas and for that matter the Indian monopolists now want the re-establishment of normal diplomatic relation between India and China not for that reason but for their profits. The vast Chinese market can hardly be overlooked by the monopolists particularly in the present state of world capitalist economy when even the relative stability of market, which world capitalist economy used to enjoy till the Second World War, is gone. Pucca businessman as they are, the Birlas can ill afford to lose the vast Chinese market by continuing anti-Chinese crusade. It is after all the profit that ultimately matters to the monopolists.

Yours truly,
Anil Kumar Das
Calcutta-12

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Sir,

The people will be amused at the sudden *volte face* of some of the anti-Chinese crusaders. The Indian bourgeoisie, the Congress Government at the Centre and the State Governments, different political parties, not excluding some of those that call themselves Communists or Marxists-Leninists, and the so-called nationalist Press have so long been vying with one another in carrying on anti-Chinese campaign and developing anti-Chinese war-psychosis inside the country. This anti-Chinese bait has paid good dividends to the ruling Indian bourgeoisie and its oppressive state. Precisely with a view to helping the monopolists in at least temporarily staving off the mounting economic recession by artificial stimulation of increased defence production as also developing the military might, the slogan of "nation in danger" was raised, anti-Chinese crusade started, "forward policy" adopted and ultimately border clash engineered. All this took place under anti-Chinese stand.

The people have by now detected the whole game and, as such, the anti-Chinese crusade is not paying. That is why the *Hindusthan Times* of the Birlas in its issue dated November 12 last had editorially commented: "Responding to Mao's smile, quite some countries have already slipped through to find out quietly and without fanfare what that gesture could mean in terms of trade, political arrangements and other mutual exchanges."

** While India apparently waits for Mao to smile again, the British have converted that smile into tangible political and trading gain, small as yet, but nevertheless a useful beginning. Unless the policy-makers in Delhi are a little more positive and venturesome, India, not China, might find itself increasingly isolated." The newspaper had, accordingly, advised the India Government to pursue "a positive China policy" even at the risk of facing "a measure of political and parliamentary opposition".

There is, no doubt, that the people of our country want the India Government to abandon its hostility to China and other neighbouring countries and follow a friendly relation with them. Genuine interests of our people require
(Continued at previous column)

Com. Nihar Mukherjee's Reply to Workers Party

In reply to a letter addressed to us by the West Bengal State Committee of the Workers' Party of India, Com. Nihar Mukherjee, Secretary of the West Bengal State Committee of the SUCI, has written a letter. We feel that Com. Mukherjee's letter should be published in full in order to remove the misunderstanding sought to be created by the *Jugantar* in an editorial about the stand of our Party on inter-party violent clashes. The said letter runs as follows :—

"Dear friend,

Received your letter dated 26.10.70 on the desirability of stopping violent clashes between different parties in West Bengal and noted the contents. The delay in reply was caused by the fact that our State Committee was scheduled to meet at the time to discuss, *inter alia*, the same questions and we deemed it fit to wait for the same. Secondly, my personal illness for the last few days added to this delay. You will recall that when the UF did not split and the UF Ministry was still functioning, our Party strongly condemned such inter-party violent clashes and suggested methods to stop them. Unfortunately, our note of caution to other parties and suggestions for ending inter-party violent clashes received little support from so-called big left parties.

"It is true that mutual recriminations will be of no avail. But while admitting this, if we shift our eyes to the real causes and conditions that gave birth to the inter-party clashes, which, continuing unabated, have reached such alarming proportions today, all talks of putting an end to inter-party clashes will fail to gain any tangible result. Was it not the big party chauvinism of the CPI(M) during the period of the second UF regime that contributed the most to the outbreak of inter-party clashes that we see today? Has not the imprudent practice of utilising the Home (Police)

Department in the narrow party interest of the CPI(M) and using the Police against its opponents in its conflicts with other parties shattered all hopes of restoring administrative neutrality and reduced the Police into an appendage of the CPI(M) and thus provided the present bureaucratic administration with the 'logic of indiscriminate suppression of all political opposition'? Was not the left-sectarian and disruptionist policy of the CPI(M) primarily responsible for the fall of the UF Government, subsequent President's Rule and the Police repression that it has brought in its trail? We strongly feel that the truth must be told and only mobilising strong public opinion and organising united democratic movements on the basis of the truth and reality the inter-party violent clashes can be checked.

"We do not know if any party, other than the reactionary political parties, harbours any illusion about the President's Rule in the state and the character and role of the Police and the bureaucracy. Our Party, since the imposition of the President's Rule in West Bengal, has been agitating and organising the people against barbarous Police atrocities and the present naked Police Raj. In our considered view, Police violence has now touched an all time record surpassing in intensity and extent even the atrocity by the Police in the pre independence days in our country. Police terror and violence under President's Rule

has, in fact, become the greatest danger to the security and safety of our people in the state. We think, all genuine left and democratic parties and forces should unitedly fight to stop the present Police violence.

"You will also recall that our Party always stood and still stands for the inalienable right of every party of freedom to propagate its political line and views without fear of intimidation or threat of physical violence. Freedom to conduct ideological struggles against political opponents on the basis of correct norms should not be curbed on any pretext. But is it not a fact that lack of philosophical tolerance coupled with blind fanaticism, big party chauvinism and hate engendered by the leadership of some so-called big left party among its ranks and supporters have contributed in no mean degree to the present state of affairs? With hate campaign mounting and blind fanaticism and philosophical intolerance intensifying can inter-party violent clashes stop? Expression of pious wish will not help us. The real cause of the inter-party violent clashes must be eradicated, if we really mean to put an end to them. Mere sittings and meetings between leaders of different political parties will not help in any way in improving the situation, as we all had had enough of such meetings in the past with virtually no result. Agreements were reached only to be violated; joint statements issued only to be denied later. Unless the party which is primarily responsible for conducting hate campaign instead of political-ideological struggle against other political parties and mounting aggression against them mends its way of approach, it will be really futile to try to make the aggressor and the aggressed sit together

to find a solution. We gave our suggestions long before to settle the problem of inter-party violent clashes. We request you and other parties to reconsider them seriously."

Yours truly,
Nihar Mukherjee
Secretary,

West Bengal State Committee,
Socialist Unity Centre of India,
48, Lenin Sarani, Calcutta-13.
9.11.70

To

The Secretary,
West Bengal State Committee,
Workers' Party of India,
18, Surya Sen Street,
Calcutta-12.

CPI(M) Wanted Revival of P. D. Act.

(Continued from page 3)

might have wished then to have some sort of preventive detention law in the state.

It is, thus, clear that at least one constituent of the UF, that is now in the EPC, namely, the SUC, did not observe silence at that time when the CPI(M) leader reportedly moved for the revival of the P. D. Act, as the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in its ignorance alleges. And even if Shri Jyoti Basu had earlier requested the Union Home Minister for the revival of the P. D. Act, he did it without authority behind the back of the UF and the UF Cabinet, against their known objection and in utter violation of the declared pledge and policy of the UF unilaterally. For such unauthorised unilateral act of his the UF or the UF Government cannot be held responsible. It is known to Shri Dhavan, Governor of West Bengal. That is why when Com. Subodh Banerjee in reply to a statement made by him retorted that UF Government never requested the Union Home Ministry for the revival of the P. D. Act, he agreed. Let our readers now draw the correct conclusion from all these facts.

Develop United Movement Against Police Violence

(Continued from page 2)

case. If the police can do such criminal acts against a former MLA, one can easily guess what inhuman brutalities ordinary poor peasants are facing at the hands of the police.

During President's rule the police has been given unbridled power to let loose a reign of terror and to shoot to kill. Judging the trends of police activities in West Bengal, it can be easily concluded that the police has been secretly instructed to annihilate any one merely on the basis of suspicion. Police, moreover has been armed with the Black Act which the oppressive British rulers in our country invoked to suppress the activities of the freedom fighters. But even so the administration is not happy and is clamouring for the black P.D. Acts as if the current police oppression is not enough to teach the people of this state a lesson. The reintroduction of P.D. Act was foiled during UF regime when most of the constituents of UF, barring Jyotibabu and his party and some other parties, opposed it and during the tenure of President's rule the first attempt by the Central Government was frustrated through the pressure of democratic opposition. But even so they have been waiting for an opportune moment and the plea of the Naxalite violence has turned very favourable to them. The reactionary Congress(R) Government at the Centre is introducing this time the Black Acts like Prevention of Violent Activities Act and the Maintenance of Public Order Act to arm the police and administration to act freely without any legal hindrance. Hitherto nowhere in the world such unbridled power has been vested on the police and the administration. Here police has been empowered to judge and punish

any one and even the police can shoot to kill anybody according to his sweet will. This is a direct onslaught on the limited democratic rights of the people guaranteed at least in the letters of the constitution. The declaration that these Black Acts will be used only against the anti-social elements is a shibboleth to hide their real motive. Who does not know that there is unholy alliance between the police and the anti-social elements? Need it be pointed out that the anti-social activities have proportionately increased with the increase in police force since independence? These Black Acts have actually been necessary to gag democratic opposition and to crush revolutionary movement of the peasants and workers. So democratic forces within the country must build up strong movement so that the Central Congress(R) Government is forced to retrace.

The present high handed activities of the police and the enactment of Black Acts investing in police and the administration wide power by the Indira Gandhi Government at the Centre, should be an eye opener to all who still harbour any illusion about the progressive character of Congress (R). The present rule in West Bengal is the rule of the Indira Gandhi Government and as such the onus of the present brutalities must rest on the Central Congress(R) Government headed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi. All the so-called radical facades of Congress(R) have been completely unmasked. But curiously enough both CPI and CPI(M) have contributed a great deal in creating a pro-people image of Congress(R). In this game the 'revolutionary' CPI(M) has not lagged behind the revisionist CPI. In our different writings it has been shown how CPI(M) played as

a drumboy of Mrs. Indira Gandhi's Government. As a matter of fact CPI(M) is displaying worst opportunism by alternately painting the Congress(R) Government at Centre as progressive or reactionary as it suits its narrow party interest. SUC has been consistently saying that the radical postures of the Congress(R) is nothing but a cloak to hoodwink the democratic masses and the real aim of the Congress(R) is to serve the aggregate interest of Indian monopoly capitalism. Events in West Bengal during the Presidents' rule only prove that the Central Congress(R) Government headed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi did not hesitate to shake off its radical cloak in order to crush the rising tide of democratic movement.

Lastly the people are requested to ponder over the question why in spite of such a tradition of left and democratic movement in West Bengal we are incapacitated to resist police brutalities in this state. No one can deny that democratic movements were skipping up in this state in spite of its various lapses and lacunæ. Much to the delight of the people UF Government was installed as an instrument of struggle of the toiling masses. After the installation of first UF Government in 1967 people had seen how this UF was turned into an instrument of struggle of the masses and the police and bureaucracy were restrained to a great extent through the implementation of the labour policy formulated and elaborated by Com. Shibdas Ghosh, the beloved leader and teacher of our party. Every one knows how the CPI(M) destroyed the internal cohesion of the UF and ultimately wrecked the UF through its left opportunistic and disruptive policy. The breakdown of the UF, the instrument of struggle of the toiling masses

paved in the imposition of President's rule. As such it is the CPI(M) which is mainly responsible for paving in the present Police Raj through the wreckage of UF. Moreover during UF rule Jyotibabu, the CPI(M) leader most, shamelessly used the police and the administration to violently crush the other partners of the UF and this also provided the logic to the present administration to use police in order to crush the political opponents. Thus it is mainly the left adventurism of CPI(M) which has dealt a blow to the democratic movement and the police and bureaucracy raised their ugly head in the opportunity thus provided by CPI(M). But curiously CPI(M) is at present very vocal against police vandalism and President's rule for which they are mainly to blame. Does it not lend credence to the fact that CPI(M) is shedding crocodile tears with a view to shield their misdeeds and also to usurp the current public sentiment against police oppression for gaining political dividend? People must be aware of this role of CPI(M) and must put them in the dock for such betrayal of people's cause.

Resolution of SUC West Bengal Committee on EPC.

(Continued from page 3)

the name of the proposed Front be United Left Front (ULF) or United Front (UF).

"The State Committee is further of considered view that for cohesive and effective functioning of the Front as a body no constituent party of the Front should be allowed to come to any alliance or understanding, open or clandestine, on the state, district or local level with any other party or parties outside the Front."

REVOLUTIONARY HOMAGE IN MEMORY OF COM. HAKIM SEIKH

Com. Hakim Seikh, a prominent peasant leader and convenor of Monirtat Local Committee of the SUCI under Joynagar P.S. in the district of 24-Parganas, had been murdered by the police on the 22nd November last. It is a preplanned, cold-blooded murder.

On 22nd November last, the SAP Havildar of the police outpost at Manipukurhat under Joynagar P.S. went to Com. Hakim Seikh at about 4-30 P.M. and requested him to come to Monirtat Garh for an urgent discussion. Com. Seikh in good faith came out with him. When he reached the M.R. dealer shop at no. 7 Monirtat, he saw another Havildar of the said outpost and two armed constables of Ghatiharania police camp under Kultali P.S. waiting at the shop. Accompanied by the first Havildar and the two armed constables, Com. Seikh went to the bank of the Mani river. The Havildar left the place and the two armed constables began discussion with Com. Seikh at Pulin Mistri's shop. When the sun went down Com. Seikh proceeded towards his house and when he had come to a distance of 10 to 15 yards from Pulin Mistry's shop, the two armed constables came running to him. One of them caught hold of his shirt and the other his hand. Freeing himself from their clutches, Com. Seikh proceeded towards his house when one of the armed constables fired a shot at him. Com. Seikh fell down on the ground and died. Within a short time the said two Havildars and the SI Armed Police of Ghatiharania police camp with about 10-15 Armed constables arrived at the spot. The policemen did not allow anybody to come to the place of occurrence. After about one hour and a half the policemen carried away the dead body of Com. Seikh towards the area under Kultali P.S. In order to suppress evidence the local police has let loose a reign of terror.

As a mark of protest against this preplanned cold-blooded murder of Com. Seikh, a valiant fighter for the cause of the exploited and the oppressed, for the last twenty years, a Bundh was observed at Joynagar P. S. on 24th November last. The Bundh was a complete success.

An on-the-spot enquiry was made on 29th November last, by the top leaders of the different constituent parties of the EPC. It has been conclusively established at the enquiry that the armed policemen illegally came to an area outside the jurisdiction of the thana under which they were posted with the ulterior motive of murdering Com. Hakim Seikh. It has also been established that the murder is without any provocation. The police version of firing for self-defence by the concerned policemen has been proved to be completely baseless, a concocted story and an afterthought to whitewash the heinous crime committed by the policemen.

The Party demands an impartial enquiry into the murder and severe punishment of the guilty persons. It urges upon the people to organise themselves and resist such police vandalism in the state. In memory of Com. Seikh we redouble our determination to fight for the cause for defending which Com. Seikh has been a victim of police vandalism. We express our strongest condemnation of the Congress (R) and its central rule whose police has deliberately murdered a courageous prominent peasant leader of our Party. We pay our revolutionary homage in memory of Com. Seikh.

Significance of Great November Revolution

A mammoth gathering at Sindri Bus Stop Maidan

(By a Staff Reporter)

A biggest ever public meeting was held at Sindri Bus Stop Maidan, Bihar, on 22nd November last, on the occasion of the 53rd Anniversary of the Great November Revolution. The meeting was organised by the Dhanbad District Committee of the SUCI and presided over by Com. Pritish Chanda, SUC leader.

More than 5000 persons from different walks of life attended the meeting. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that several weeks back the CPI(M) organised a meeting at the same place which was addressed among others by the CPM leader Sri B. T. Ranadive. Hardly 300 persons attended this meeting.

Com. Hem Chakravarty, District Secretary of the SUCI inaugurated the meeting. After Com. N. R. Singh, and Com. Asutosh Banerjee, SUC leaders, had delivered their speeches, Com. Ram Pyare Singh, a prominent trade union leader addressed the gathering. The speakers in their speeches dealt with the significance of the November Revolution. They emphasised on the point that the November Revolution, by actually demonstrating the correctness of the Marxist teaching that without forcible destruction of the bourgeois state machinery and replacement of it by a proletarian state through revolution, there could be no socialism—had created an unbridgeable cleavage between Marxism-Leninism and Social Democracy. They repudiated thoroughly the theory of peaceful transition from

capitalism to socialism by democratic i.e. parliamentary means, as propounded by the Social Democrats and recently propagated by the revisionist Khrushchevite leadership of the CPSU. They also pointed out how the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the correctness of which had been confirmed by the November Revolution, had been negated by their revisionist Soviet leadership to the great detriment of the international communist movement. The necessity of conducting cultural movement was pinpointed by them in the background of the present moral depravity, falling standard of values and rising tide of lack of proper understanding of the purpose of life. It was made clear, with the increase of the influence of the so-called communist parties in our country, this lowering of cultural standard had been proportioned, thereby showing the bankruptcy of these parties in leading the people correctly. They concluded that these parties 'are not real communist parties' and that the SUC is the only real communist Party in India. They appealed to the people to make the SUC strong by all means. After the Presidential address the meeting came to an end.

HARYANA SCHOOL OF POLITICS

(By a Staff Reporter)

Party School of politics was held at Bahadurgarh in Haryana from 13th to 15th November last, both days inclusive. About a hundred party workers and supporters from different districts attended the four sessions of the school.

The school among others discussed the three principles of dialectical materialism, historical materialism, the present political situation, the programmes of the CPI, CPI(M), and CPI(M-L), their differences with the SUCI, the

significance of UF politics, and the necessity of increasing the organisational strength of the SUCI.

The school was conducted by Com. Shibdas Ghosh, General Secretary and leader and teacher of the Party.